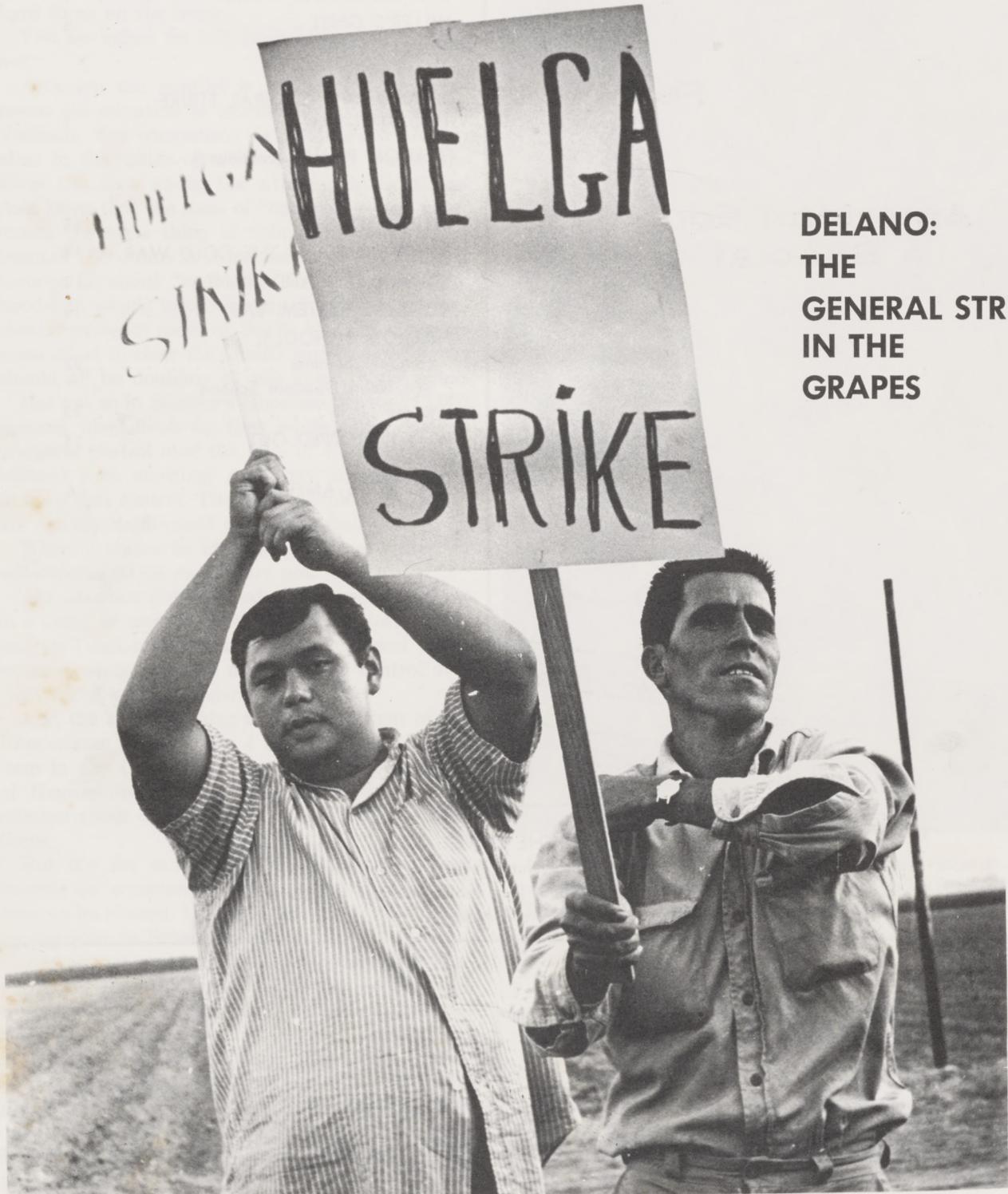


# **INSURGENT**

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1966

**25¢**



**DELANO:  
THE  
GENERAL STRIKE  
IN THE  
GRAPES**

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ON THE COVER: Striking grape workers on picket duty gesture to scabs in the fields of Delano. (See feature story in this issue.) Photo by Howard Harawitz.

# **INSURGENT**

NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF THE W. E. B. DuBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

Volume 2, Number 1; January-February, 1966. Published every other month by the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, 954 McAllister St., San Francisco, California 94115. Subscriptions: one year (6 issues) \$1.25 in U.S. and Canada, \$2 for foreign subscriptions. Single copies 25¢. Copyright 1966 by the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. All rights reserved.

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## Editorial

By the time this appears in print drastic changes in the nature of the war in Vietnam will probably have occurred — for better or worse — and will have overshadowed developments anywhere else in the world. But there is a showdown shaping up in Africa that will draw some sharp lines and make it hard to sit on the fence.

You are either for self-determination or you are not.

Although the parallel is frequently drawn between the situation in Mississippi and the war in Vietnam, the comparison is not always sharply clear in the minds of a lot of people. Those who know the facts about the situation in Southeast Asia know that the issue of "one man — one vote" means the same thing in Selma and Saigon. But because the Johnson Administration has used its favorite lie about "aggression from the North" to hoodwink people into believing the Saigon government represents most of South Vietnam, it takes some effort to clear the muddy waters — effort we should all be doubling at this stage in the game.

But not so in Southern Rhodesia. There 217,000 persons, identifiable by their white skins, exercise complete control over the lives of 4 million others without such marking. And they are determined to keep that control. The black people of Rhodesia are equally determined that they shall not.

When it comes to Rhodesia, you are either for self-determination or you are not.

The situation there is analogous to what happens in a string of counties stretching from North Carolina to Texas and running through several states where a white minority maintains its control over the lives of a black majority.

And the amazing thing is that the plight of the Rhodesians, who number 4 million, is the hottest item in the United Nations while the oppression of Negroes in the Southern United States, who number about 6 million, has never been discussed there.

But it's the same thing. The slogan we have become so accustomed to in recent months will have to be altered. It should now read: "One man — one vote, in Selma, Saigon and Salisbury."

Just as men and women in Mississippi have during recent years stood up and demanded the right to govern their own lives, men and women in Rhodesia have begun to do the same. And for the nations of the world that call themselves "democratic," a problem has been posed — the same problem that has been posed for the people in this country who call themselves "democrats" —

You are either for self-determination or you are not.

It may well turn out that Rhodesia will be the



Spain of our times. Just as people and governments all over the world had to decide during the thirties whether they were for the people of Spain or their oppressors, we today will face a similar test in southern Africa.

The details of what has happened around Rhodesia need not be recounted here. They are related almost daily in the newspapers. In capsule form here is the situation:

As long as Rhodesia was a member of the British Commonwealth there was hope that the white minority rule in that country would be brought to an end, perhaps without a bloody conflict. Although Rhodesia was given self-governing status within the Commonwealth in 1923, the British govern-

ment retained control over its foreign relations and could at any time have suspended the Rhodesian Constitution and ruled from London. The racist government in Rhodesia sought to prolong its oppressive rule by freeing itself from Britain. By becoming free of British authority she could handle any possible revolution any way she saw fit and could call anyone to help her — such as the racist government of South Africa.

So, on Nov. 11, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith issued a "declaration of independence." The declaration was of course a sham. Declarations of independence are steps taken to insure the majority of a people in a territory the right to govern themselves. The Rhodesian action was anything but that.

Other African nations, some members of the Commonwealth, began to demand Britain assert its power and assume control in Rhodesia. Some withdrew from the Commonwealth when the British government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson refused to do so.

At the time of this writing the situation looks bleak. With the exception of proposals for economic boycotts of Rhodesia, there appears little chance strong measures will be taken by either the British government or the United Nations.

INSURGENT editors have spoken with representatives of the black Rhodesian revolutionary movement. A revolt will occur. It is only a matter of time. Both the Zimbabwe African People's

Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have declared they will use any and all means to gain freedom from the Smith government.

Where the United States stands in all this is far from certain. Statements out of the White House and from United Nations representatives have placed our country against the Smith government. That places us alongside Britain but not, necessarily, alongside the Rhodesian people. We have opposed the Saigon government many times, even to the point of engineering its replacement. But that has never meant we had taken the side of the masses of Vietnamese people.

There are suggestions in many quarters that were revolution to break out in Rhodesia the United States would suddenly "discover" some "moderate" group and back it against the "extremists on both sides." How simple it would be to find a Rhodesian counterpart to Vietnamese President Ky or Diem and proclaim him to be the representative of the "true aspirations" of the Rhodesian people.

Such things must be guarded against. The situation in Rhodesia bears careful attention.

INSURGENT believes the cause of the Rhodesian people should become the cause of American young people. Theirs is the side of true democracy, meaningful self-determination and an important step toward realizing "one man — one vote" throughout the world.

## OUR INSURGENT WORLD

### INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT NEWS

#### Spanish and Portuguese Students Continue to Rock Fascism

One of the staunchest cold-war allies of the United States, in what our leaders like to call the "Free World," is Franco's Spain. Many **Insurgent** readers may be too young to recall, and little is done or said in today's doublethink world to remind us, but this very same Franco was the ally of Hitler and Mussolini, and came to power with the help of these men in

a civil war that is now generally read about only in Hemingway novels.

Representatives of the International Union of Students recently penetrated Spain and neighboring Portugal (where Salazar's regime is similar to that of Franco). They made contact with underground youth organizations and observed political conditions.

The IUS observers report a veritable wonderland of titles and long-winded discussions on the fine points of Cath-

olic dogma side-by-side with search-and-seizure raids and the bleakest conditions among European workers. Opposition to the tyranny transcends class boundaries, with members of a Falange (Franco's movement) left sitting in assemblies for academic freedom and working with Communists. The political police have gained a reputation for their high cultural level: Marxist books (ordered burned by Franco in 1940 as a matter of public health) may be obtained, only in French, by the same system in which one obtains pornography. One Portuguese student even reported seizure of the works of the French playwright, Racine.

Though both Salazar and Franco have spent millions to construct new university buildings, their hearts turn to stone when approached for money for scientific equipment, laboratory facilities, libraries, etc. Scientific teachings must conform to Catholic dogma. Every book and newspaper in

## INTERNATIONAL YOUTH NEWS *continued*

Spain must carry the okay of the local bishop and censor.

Franco's student organization formerly thrived as a social club. This SEU (University Students' Syndicate) was recently rendered impotent by mass resignations of members and leaders. Three important underground movements exist: CUDE (Spanish Democratic University Federation), ADEC (Catalan Democratic Students' Association) and UED (Democratic Students' Union). Membership in one of these organizations entitles the student to constant harassment and police terror. Demonstrations usually result in open gun battles with the police.

Police terror is a way of life in Spain and Portugal. The student who participates in a strike or march must be aware that he might be killed, or his classes might be interrupted by the Civil Guards (in Spain) or the Internal Police (in Portugal) for a session with blackjacks and whips, bribes and psychological torture.

Yet the marches continue: marches for amnesty, in defense of trade unions, in defense of academic freedom. And Franco must sometime remember that Spain's poets and thinkers, not its soldiers, made Spanish names echo in men's minds. Sooner or later, the winds of change will touch him, too.

### Students Assess the Functions of Education

Canadian, French, Moroccan and Colombian student organizations are beginning to take steps to actively assess the role of university education in their societies and ways to improve methods and curriculum. The problems, as reported in **World Student News**, vary in each country. A student in Colombia faces an intellectual paralysis that causes heavy reliance on classical Spanish culture and does little to relate the educational experience to world realities. The French student faces declining national interest in education, and must work to affect student and popular opinion on academic matters. The Moroccan faces the break with feudalism, similar to the Colombian, and the inability of a feudal society to produce a flexible culture. The Canadian is in the same boat as the U.S. student: faced with ticky-tacky IBM-style diploma machines.

Students are the most important

# MILLER'S GRIST

by Miller

*SEASON'S GREETINGS (a bit belated):* Yes, children, there is a foreign agitator. He showed up most recently at the big farmworkers' strike in Delano, according to the farmowners. Before that, you'll remember, he was in Berkeley, inciting thousands of dupes. And before that he was in Alabama making all the happy Negroes unhappy. In fact, the slave-owners said he instigated the slave revolts, and the factory owners said he started all the unions. Historically, one of his earliest appearances in history found him agitating against some money lenders in a temple. It is presumed he won't stay long in the grape fields of California, but will return to South Vietnam where for a number of years he has made his home with the NLF, according to State Department sources. Funny how he always manages to turn up on the right side. And that's what I call putting the *mass* back in Christmas.

*Seems to me I've heard that song before . . .* is what African delegates might have been singing as they walked out on Harold Wilson's "trust in me" speech at the U.N. As the old saying goes, "a recommendation from the cat carries no weight in the kingdom of canaries."

*Bettina Aptheker*, Girl Communist (self-confessed) of Berkeley and daughter of the father of Bettina Aptheker, ran in a recent student election on the Berkeley campus and came in first. The event caused some consternation and talk of an investigation in some circles, to which Bettina replied, "I don't understand what they're so upset about. When I'm elected Governor, then they can worry!" In the furor that followed her election, a conservative Bay Area daily attempted to assess the scene by interviewing her fellow students for a "man-on-the-street" response. When approached, a bearded youth manning a table for the Vietnam Day Committee replied, "Bettina? She's a moderate." That should make local residents rest easy.

*Listen closely* and you'll find that "Everyone's Gone to the Moon" is the protest song of the year.

*You've Probably Heard It But Let's Put It In Print Department:* The one about the elderly lady immigrant, arriving at Ellis Island and being interviewed by the U.S. immigration officials. "And would you advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence?" she is asked, to which she replies (after a thoughtful pause), "Oh, violence."

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part of the educational process, but educators seem frequently to lose sight of this truism. Students are finding it increasingly difficult to accept an education with little or no realistic meaning for them. In France, students are pushing toward a more widespread organization. In Canada, they are trying to find their own values and

motivations. In Morocco and Colombia, they are working for far-reaching changes. The tool for change differs in each country as that country's culture differs. Yet an unmistakable change is sweeping the relationship between teacher, student, administrator and knowledge, all over the world.

One night last November, some unknown person broke into the DuBois Freedom Center in the West Side Chicago ghetto, poured gasoline over everything, and burned the office down. Although the Chicago fire department (which had been the target of a DuBois Club integration fight last summer) arrived at the fire immediately after it started, they were unable to save anything in the center. However, the office, which was part of a large tenement complex, was the only section of the tenement which was damaged. In their "effort," the fire department managed to chop up half of the bookshelves and totally wreck the furniture in the clubhouse. The office was completely demolished, and a mimeograph and two typewriters were destroyed. In its six-month existence the Freedom Center had organized a strong movement in the ghetto for a real war on poverty, and had obtained more than 80 jobs for young Chicago Negroes. In the course of these struggles it had made powerful enemies among the Chicago power structure. A new clubhouse has already been found, but tremendous needs still exist in the way of office supplies and money. If you want the freedom movement on the West Side of Chicago to continue, please send as much as you can to:

Charles Harris  
Director, DuBois Freedom Center  
2802 W. Washington  
Chicago, Illinois 60612



The following was written by a member of the Chicago West Side DuBois Club:

### YOLANDE'S AMERICA

America the beauty, land of the free,  
At least that's what she was meant to be.  
But really she's not free at all.  
As her statue proclaims her, standing so tall.  
For there's hatred and prejudice all around,  
In every city, state and town.  
Too much pride in one's own color,  
When no color is better than another.  
And there's so much wrong being done everywhere,  
Which is caused by the ignorance some men share.  
They seem to want all men to have color alike,  
And he's less than human if he isn't white.  
But they fail to reason or even to see  
That the supreme God above meant not this to be.  
For He made us to be what He thought we should,  
And all that He made He blessed and made good.

For the mortal weak man there's a wrong and right side,  
And for hate he'd choose wrong caused by false foolish pride.

Is there someone to blame for this hate in our hearts,  
That's causing this country to be torn apart?  
For the innocent child who must live in this land  
There is nothing but love for his fellow man,  
And he'd play with anyone regardless of race,  
For to him all are equal in sight of his face.  
Then he's taught by elders to hate certain men,  
Cause his color is different from his fellow man's skin.  
He's bred on hate and sinful lies.  
He believes what he's told by his elders so wise.  
But they being so wise, weren't as wise as he,  
For he showed love for all likes of humanity.  
So he failed to realize that all along  
He was right but they were wrong.

America, what's happening to your land of the free,  
That was meant to give freedom and equality?  
Which is longed for, which all mankind has fought for  
and died.

Black, white, red or yellow  
Can be the color of any fellow.  
He cannot change his creed or race,  
Nor the color of his face.  
Mankind all over is one of the same,  
Regardless of features which give him a name.  
His soul longs for happiness which his body conceives,  
Which denied would cause any man to grieve.

Does it seem right that man try to take from his brother,  
Which he desires like the love felt for a babe by its  
mother?

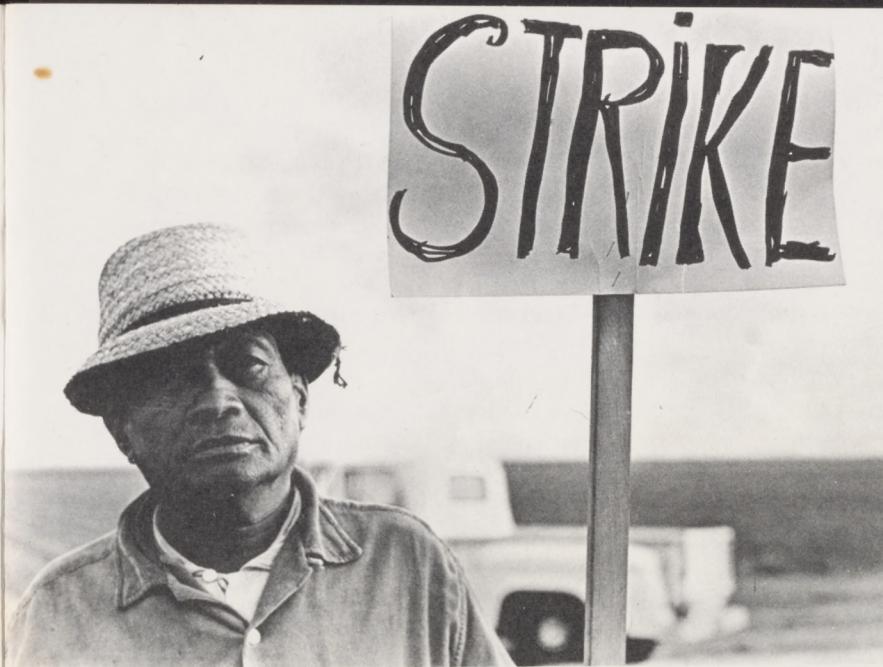
Does it seem right that man have such greed in his mind  
That to get what he wants, he'd kill his own kind?  
And does it seem right for him to hate so deep within  
One man for no reason than difference of skin?  
And of all things does it seem right that he destroy a  
child's mind,

Feeding him hate to bring forth to future mankind?  
Man lives and he dies as all living things do,  
And we share the same earth until our lives are through.  
We share the same sky and the sun up above,  
We possess human emotions: sadness, joy and love.  
We eat and we drink, we sleep and awake,  
We learn from being taught and we communicate.  
We have our beliefs and though our ways be odd,  
Our religions all center on one supreme God  
Who loves and not hates, like some men teach  
Whose evil deeds shall soon meet defeat.

Yes, dear people, there is someone to blame,  
But that someone hasn't really got a name.  
For we're all born to love and then taught to hate,  
All over the world not just in one state.  
Should we allow this problem to grow and go on?  
If not, then one man cannot do it alone.  
And if the price of freedom means death and tears,  
We should unite and fight for freedom for our future  
years.

For freedom was meant for everyone,  
And not until it's gained will this war be won.

—Miss Yolande Williams.



# DELANO: THE GENERAL STRIKE IN THE GRAPES

WHAT IS A MOVEMENT? IT IS WHEN THERE ARE ENOUGH PEOPLE WITH ONE IDEA SO THAT THEIR ACTIONS ARE TOGETHER LIKE A HUGE WAVE OF WATER WHICH NOTHING CAN STOP. IT IS WHEN A GROUP OF PEOPLE BEGIN TO CARE ENOUGH SO THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO MAKE SACRIFICES.

THE MOVEMENT OF THE NEGRO BEGAN IN THE HOT SUMMER OF ALABAMA TEN YEARS AGO WHEN A NEGRO WOMAN REFUSED TO BE PUSHED TO THE BACK OF THE BUS. THUS BEGAN A GIGANTIC WAVE OF PROTEST THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH. THE NEGRO IS WILLING TO FIGHT FOR WHAT IS HIS: AN EQUAL PLACE UNDER THE SUN.

SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE THEY WILL SAY THAT IN THE HOT SUMMER OF CALIFORNIA IN 1965 THE MOVEMENT OF THE FARMWORKERS BEGAN. IT BEGAN WITH A SMALL SERIES OF STRIKES. IT STARTED SO SLOWLY THAT AT FIRST IT WAS ONLY ONE MAN, THEN FIVE, THEN ONE HUNDRED.

THIS IS HOW A MOVEMENT BEGINS. THIS IS WHY THE FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION IS A "MOVEMENT" MORE THAN A "UNION." ONCE A MOVEMENT BEGINS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO STOP. IT WILL SWEEP THROUGH CALIFORNIA AND IT WILL NOT BE OVER UNTIL THE FARM WORKER HAS THE EQUALITY OF A LIVING WAGE AND DECENT TREATMENT. AND THE ONLY WAY IT WILL BE DONE IS THROUGH ORGANIZATION. THE FARM WORKER MUST ORGANIZE TO FIGHT FOR WHAT IS HIS.

WHAT IS A MOVEMENT? IT IS THE IDEA THAT SOME DAY THE FARM WORKER WILL BE RESPECTED. IT IS THE IDEA THAT SOME DAY HE WILL EARN A LIVING WAGE. IT IS WHEN THE SILENT HOPES OF MANY PEOPLE BEGIN TO BECOME A REAL PART OF LIFE.

—Editorial from *El Malcriado*, official bi-weekly of the Farm Workers Association.

by Al Howard  
photographs by Howard Harawitz

"*This strike is all the farm workers standing up together and saying FROM THIS DAY WE DEMAND TO BE TREATED LIKE THE MEN WE ARE. We are not slaves and we are not animals. And we are not alone.*" This is the message of thousands of striking grape workers in California's lush Central Valley, one of the most productive agricultural regions in the world.

The fields of this valley provide employment for a total of 500,000 to 750,000 workers. The life of these farm workers has remained substantially unchanged since the 1930's when John Steinbeck described their condition in his novel *The Grapes of Wrath*. Indeed, second and third generation farm workers say that conditions have gotten worse — much of the housing, for example, that was so bad during the depression is now thirty years older.

The average wage rate for valley farm workers is somewhere in the vicinity of a dollar an hour — some get a few cents more, some get less. Farm workers are excluded from national minimum wage

and collective bargaining legislation. Neither do they receive unemployment benefits during the great part of every year when there is no work.

### Beginnings

The grape strike began on Sept. 7, 1965. At a meeting in Delano, a town about 150 miles north of Los Angeles, a thousand Filipino farm workers, under the leadership of the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), voted to go out on strike. Ten days later, they were joined by the National Farm Workers Association, a predominantly Mexican-American organization with over 1500 members in the area.

During the first week of the jointly supported strike an additional 800 to 1,000 workers were brought out of the fields and signed up by people on picket lines. By the end of September, more than 3,000 people out of a total work force of 5,000 were involved in the strike.

The strikers are demanding an hourly wage rate of \$1.40 an hour plus an incentive rate of 25¢ a box. The \$1.40 an hour rate is that set by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz as the minimum to be offered domestic workers by those growers demanding braceros. (Braceros are Mexican citizens brought into California, under an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico, as a source of cheap, non-union agricultural labor.) Grape growers in the Delano area have been paying \$1.15 to \$1.20 and 10¢ a box. In addition, the strikers want union recognition in order to set up machinery

for joint wage negotiations with all growers in the strike area.

The walkout is centered in Delano and extends over a 400 square mile area in northern Kern and southern Tulare counties — the nation's major table-grape producing area. It is the most significant agricultural workers' strike in many years and possibly the biggest since the thirties.

### Outside Help

I visited the strike area for the first time on a weekend in late September. A group of San Francisco Bay Area friends of SNCC and I arrived at Farm Workers Association headquarters on a Saturday afternoon with a load of food and some money we had hurriedly collected before we left. I think we were the first large group (there were 15 or 20 of us) of "outsiders" to come to help out at strike headquarters.

Most of the strikers around the office didn't speak English and we didn't speak Spanish, so we all just stood around awkwardly for the first few minutes. But before long we had all become enmeshed in the activity taking place at headquarters. Together with some of the farm workers we unloaded from our cars the food we had brought and carried it into a room in back of the office. Some of our group stayed at the office and helped with mimeographing, typing or making placards. Others went out to picket. Two other people and I started to drive through the town to talk to strikers on the streets.



We hadn't gotten very far when we noticed three or four Delano Police and Kern County Sheriff's cars surrounding an automobile. We stopped to see what was happening. People standing in the street said that the people in the car had just come from a union meeting. We asked the Deputies if they were giving the driver a ticket or charging the occupants with breaking a law. They said they were not. Why then, we asked them, were they stopping the car. They said they couldn't tell us.

We watched the officers take the names of all the occupants of the vehicle while a photographer from a local TV station, who was obviously working with the authorities, took mug shots of the people in the car. After this delay of nearly half an hour the police permitted the car with its passengers to leave. We talked to some of the bystanders after the police left and learned that this was just another tactic used by the local authorities to intimidate the strikers.

#### Empty Fields

Despite grower claims to the contrary, the strike has been very effective. The roving picket lines of the strikers have been fairly successful in turning imported scabs out of the fields. Local scabs and labor contractors are discouraged from working by having their homes picketed by strikers carrying signs announcing that "Un Esquirol Vive Aqui" — A Scab Lives Here. The fields that I saw were loaded with ripe table grapes and were for the most part empty of workers. In the few fields where work was going on the crews were small — about 20% of the number normally employed for harvest.

The growers are hurting and have tried everything they could to break the strike, but so far have failed. Importation of scabs, injunctions against mass picketing, evictions from grower-owned housing, beatings, arrests, threats of armed violence and spraying pickets with chemicals are some of the devices that have been used. The strikers, on their part, have used non-violent tactics and have won much local support as a result.

I was impressed most by the spirit of the strikers. In this respect the strike was different than many of the urban area strikes that I have witnessed. Here rank and file workers feel that this is their strike and they are bent on winning — if not this year, then next.

The young workers, in particular, feel very strongly. Saturday night I stayed at the home of one of the AWOC leaders. Also staying there was a young grape worker who had been thrown out of what had been his home for three years — farm worker housing owned by one of the area's big growers. Although we had picket duty at 4 A.M. the next morning, we stayed up most of the



"A SCAB LIVES HERE." With these signs, striking workers designate the houses of strikebreakers.

*Really  
split the  
community*

night talking. He wanted to know what brought somebody like me, with an education and the earning power it implies, to work with striking grape pickers over 250 miles away from my home.

I explained that I felt that the same kind of people who were keeping the farm workers poor were responsible for making our whole society one which cares nothing for people but only for money and things. I said that none of us were free until we had control over our own lives and the society and the world we live in. I told him that though I had college degrees I was not free to use my education in the way I felt it should be used. I was trained as an engineer by I had nothing to say about what I did with my knowledge. For most of my waking hours my mind was simply the property of the corporation that hired me.

#### The Same Movement

I told Tom — let us say that was the young farm worker's name — that I thought the grape strikers were part of a growing number of people — including young people and students, poor people in cities, civil rights fighters, the anti-war movement — who were determined to improve their own lives and in the process to make this

country a better place to live in. He and I were part of the same "movement." That was why I was in Delano.

Tom, who is the kind of person that is looked to for leadership by many of the younger Filipino workers, said that he and many other strikers see the significance of the strike as going far beyond the demands for wage increases. He said that he was single and could live on whatever he earned even though he might have to do without things that other people might consider important. What the strike involved for him, he said, was his dignity and humanity. If he was to do without certain material things he wanted to be the one to decide, not the growers.

### Eviction

He explained that one of the things that angered the strikers more than anything else was the eviction of the Filipino farm workers from their housing by the growers who owned it. Many of the strikers had lived in that housing for ten years or more, some for thirty years. The hundreds of single men who lived there had planted trees and

gardens and decorated their rooms. Yet, when they asserted their rights for the first time by going on strike, their belongings were tossed out on the ground and they were evicted from their homes by armed guards — the windows were nailed shut and the doors padlocked. "What have we got . . . what are we if they can do that to us?" ask the strikers.

Though Tom is a member of AWOC he spends much of his time at FWA headquarters. The two organizations are cooperating and they have successfully united the area's minority groups — Filipinos, Mexicans, Arabs and Negroes — in the strike. Tom is attracted to FWA by the spirited atmosphere that pervades its activities. For the most part the people working in the office are younger than the more experienced AFL-CIO leadership of AWOC. Students are present most of the time and their help is welcomed by FWA. The atmosphere at FWA headquarters is very much akin to what I've heard southern SNCC offices are like.

Indeed, the FWA leaders are very much aware of the significance of the civil rights movement and have made use of some of its non-violent tactics. It is held up as an example of what can be accomplished when people get together to fight for what is rightly theirs.

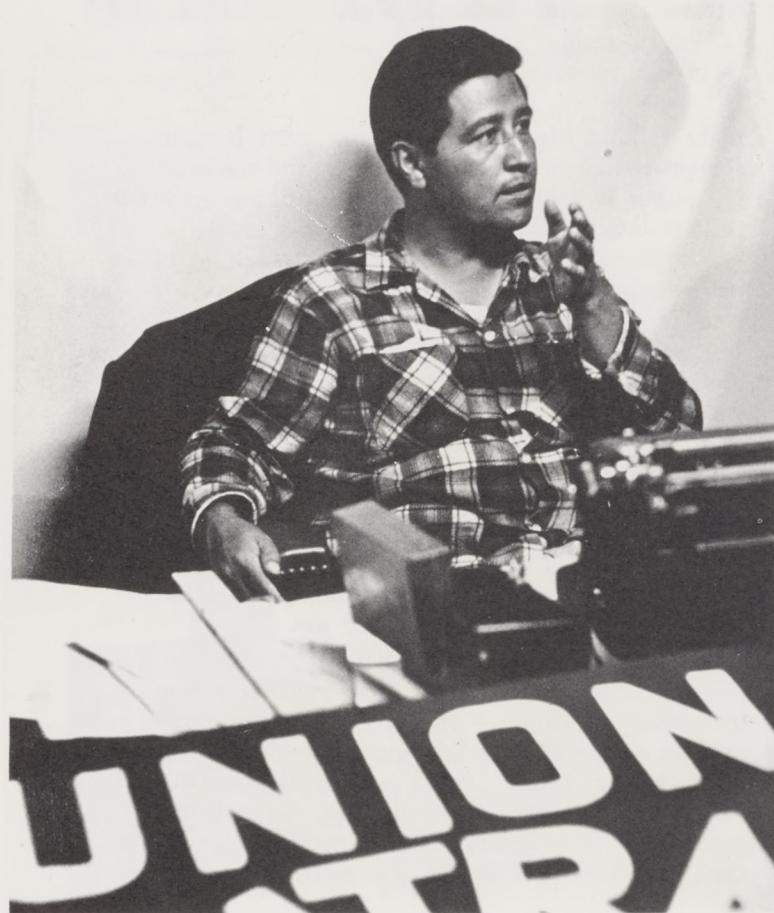
Caesar Chavez, FWA Director, says FWA must be a center through which farm workers can work on all the issues which affect their lives. FWA helps its members with their individual problems with the Welfare Department, the schools, the law, hospitals, etc. In addition, FWA has established a consumers' cooperative and a credit union. Chavez believes that along with a union's bargaining strength, cooperatives can begin to give farm workers control over their economic lives. At present, the Farm Workers Co-op, headquartered in Delano, is small — it sells only tires and oil for automobiles — but it is successful in this and Chavez looks forward to its expansion and growth.

### Support

Support for the strike from outside the strike area has been growing. Several young ministers, working through liberal church organizations like the Migrant Ministry of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches, have from the beginning been working full time with the Farm Workers Association. Local priests and ministers, as well as clergymen from other parts of the state, have walked picket lines, served as witnesses in legal proceedings and have even been arrested in behalf of the strikers.

Father Keith Kenney of Sacramento, who has a commercial pilot's license, flew over the strike area while Caesar Chavez and Father Arnold Meagher

Caesar Chavez, Director of the National Farm Workers Association and principal leader in the strike.



## DEFINITION OF A STRIKE-BREAKER

by Jack London

After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad and the vampire, he had some awful substance left with which he made a Strike-breaker. A Strike-breaker is a two-legged animal with a corkscrew soul, a waterlogged brain, and a combination backbone made of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles.

When a Strike-breaker comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out. No man has the right to be a Strike-breaker, so long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown his body in or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman . . . compared with a Strike-breaker. For betraying his master, he had the character to hang himself . . . a strikebreaker hasn't.

Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Judas Iscariot sold his Savior for forty pieces of silver. Benedict Arnold sold his country for a promise of commission in the British Army. The modern Strike-breaker sells his birthright, his country, his wife, his children, and his fellow-men for an unfilled promise from his employer, trust or corporation.

Esau was a traitor to himself. Judas Iscariot was a traitor to his God. Benedict Arnold was a traitor to his country. A Strike-breaker is a traitor to himself, a traitor to his God, a traitor to his country, a traitor to his family and a traitor to his class. There is nothing lower than a Strike-breaker.

spoke to scab workers from the plane with a loud-speaker. When the plane landed Chavez and one of the priests was arrested for what they had done. On October 19, forty-four persons, including about a dozen ministers, several students and many women, were arrested for "failure to disperse" while picketing a struck ranch. In another incident, a young Migrant Ministry worker, Reverend Dave Havens, was arrested when he began to read Jack London's definition of a scab loud enough so that strikebreakers could hear it.

Support for the strike from other labor unions has assumed unusual proportions. Early in October, many San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles County unions began to send car caravans with food and clothing to the strike area. In its first fund-raising effort the Alameda County Central Labor Council, Oakland, collected \$4,757 for the strikers. Throughout the state, local unions have publicized the strike in their newspapers, hosted strikers to speak at union meetings and established depots where supplies and funds are collected.

Occasionally, on weekends and other off-days, union men can be seen helping out at strike headquarters and manning the picket lines with farm workers. Teamsters have refused to handle scab-picked grapes. Longshoremen refused to cross farm

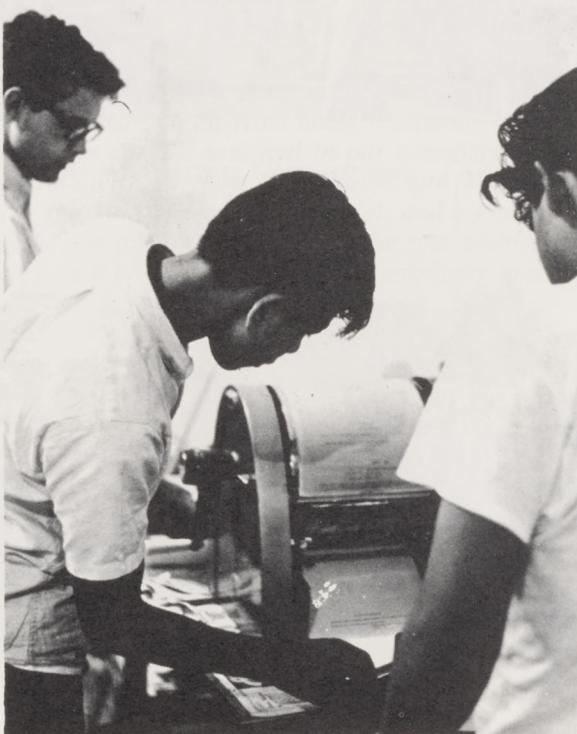


A strikebreaker works among the grapes.

worker picket lines set up at the docks in Oakland and San Francisco where tons of scab-picked grapes were scheduled to be shipped overseas.

Students, too, have lent substantial aid to the strikers. In addition to the fund raising and food collecting that they do in the areas where their campuses are located, students can be found nearly any time on picket lines and turning out leaflets and newsletters on the mimeograph machine at Delano strike headquarters. Closer to home, they support farm worker picket lines at the docks and in front of markets where Delano grapes are sold. They joined in the picketing of the Schenley Corporation in San Francisco. (Schenley makes wine

Young workers in the FWA running off a strike leaflet on the mimeograph machine in FWA headquarters.



— Roma and Cresta Blanca are its brands — and operates a big grape ranch in the strike area.)

Support for the strike comes also from ethnic and community organizations all over the state. The National Executive Board of the Community Service Organization (CSO, a Mexican-American civic group) and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) voted to back the strikers. Members of CORE and SNCC groups are actively participating in the strike. The Welfare Rights Organization, an organization of welfare recipients in Oakland, has sent people to Delano to teach local residents their rights under the welfare laws

Farm workers and their families parade through the streets of Delano



... under the watchful gaze of local authorities.



and to make sure that all who are legally entitled to welfare aid actually receive it. With no unemployment compensation, and no work, the only source of income for farm worker families during many months of the year is welfare aid.

Right now the grape harvest is over and there is a period of relative calm. Soon the pruning season will begin and strike activity will accelerate again. Pruning requires a great deal of skill and imported scabs who don't know how to prune could seriously damage the vines and hurt next year's entire crop. The people who for years have been doing this work are solidly in the camp of the strikers and they know that their strike has been building steadily in strength and support. El Malcriado says:

"THERE ARE OVER ONE-HALF MILLION FARM WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA WORKING UNDER DEGRADING CONDITIONS. THERE ARE ONLY ABOUT 200 MAJOR GROWERS.

IN THE GREAT STRIKE OF THE GRAPES, WE BEGIN TO SEE THIS VICIOUS PATTERN CHANGE. THIS STRIKE HAS FRIGHTENED THE GROWERS TO THEIR DEPTHS: THEY HAVE SPENT THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS TO TRY TO STOP IT, AND THEY HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL. THERE ARE TOO MANY OF US AND TOO FEW OF THEM.

AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO TRIUMPH OVER THEM. THIS YEAR IT IS THE GENERAL STRIKE IN THE GRAPES. NEXT PERHAPS WE WILL SWEEP THROUGH THE VINEYARDS AND THE ORCHARDS AND DOWN THE LONG ROWS OF MELONS AND POTATOES, INTO THE PACKING SHEDS AND COLD STORAGE PLANTS, AND NOTHING WILL BE ABLE TO STOP US BECAUSE THERE ARE SO MANY OF US.

FROM THIS DAY THERE IS NO TURNING BACK UNTIL EVERY FARM WORKER IN CALIFORNIA HAS A LIVING WAGE AND A STRONG CONTRACT WITH HIS EMPLOYER. PEOPLE ALL OVER THE VALLEY WILL REMEMBER THE GENERAL STRIKE IN THE GRAPES AS THE FIRST STEP ON THE LONG ROAD TO FREEDOM."

*American education is in bad shape.*

*That's not news. For years our legislators, PTA's and civic organizations have called attention to the problems: overcrowded classrooms, understaffed faculties, poor pay for teachers, lack of facilities—not only in things like motion picture projectors, bulletin boards and athletic equipment—but books, paper, the very basic tools of learning.*

*Nobody knows the problem better than we do, for we are the young people in the schools today, or just out of them within the last few years. Overcrowded classrooms are not a statistic to us. They mean sitting two in a seat meant for one, and getting no individual attention from the teacher because she has forty other students in each class, five classes a day, and clerical work to do besides. And it is we who suffer most from the poor quality of education offered to us in the public schools; we who prefer to cut, or daydream and get bad grades, or drop out because school has no meaning and we long to be someplace else.*

*We young Americans are growing up in a nation and a world which is going through big changes. We can see—and feel—these changes all around us. People are moving. In the South, others of our generation are fighting and dying in a non-violent war for freedom. In Vietnam, our brothers are fighting and dying in a violent war, and we're not sure why, and we have a lot of questions about it. Newspapers and TV and the big magazines are very cynical about many things that we think are important: labor unions, and demonstrations, and free speech, and things like love and sex and human relationships. We get the impression, from the papers and TV and magazines, that everything has a price, that love comes in a hair tonic or a deodorant, that a freedom fighter is a kooky "beatnik," or "peacenik," or "Vietnik," and that if we'd all just keep quiet and let the guys in power have their way, everything would work out.*

*In school we were told that, in America, the people are the power. Only now they add that in order to be somebody—in order to have that job and money that means status and, in turn, means power—you need education. That magic word. They say that education is the answer to unemployment, education is the answer to prejudice, education is the answer to Watts. Education is the gold key that unlocks all those doors you see slamming shut in your face.*

*So we need education. So what do we do? Where can we go to get it? To the schools, of course. To the schools that are overcrowded and understaffed, where knowledge means memorize dates and read a certain number of pages a night and never ask questions about the things that really matter to yo. And maybe, if you're lucky, once or twice in your student career you have a teacher who's really with it; somebody who opens your eyes, who teaches you how to learn. That year or two with that teacher or two can make all the difference, for a lifetime. But that teacher held that job in spite of, not because of, her (his) talents. That teacher bucked the problems all the way, just like you. And that's why there aren't more such teachers.*

*So our generation, we're starting to think about these things; and even more than that, we're starting to do something about them. We think that the problems of education, far from being a separate phase of American life, are all connected up with the problems we see on our TV sets and in our newspapers; that the bad shape American education is in has something to do with Vietnam, and Watts, and Mississippi; and we aim to find out just what the connection is. This is the kind of learning we want, and we wish the schools could help us find these answers. We'll fight to make our schools places where the real problems of America can be hashed out and understood, and in so doing we'll be fighting for a better and freer America.*

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES  
INSURGENT PRESENTS  
A SPECIAL SECTION ON

# American Education

# Education and the COLD WAR

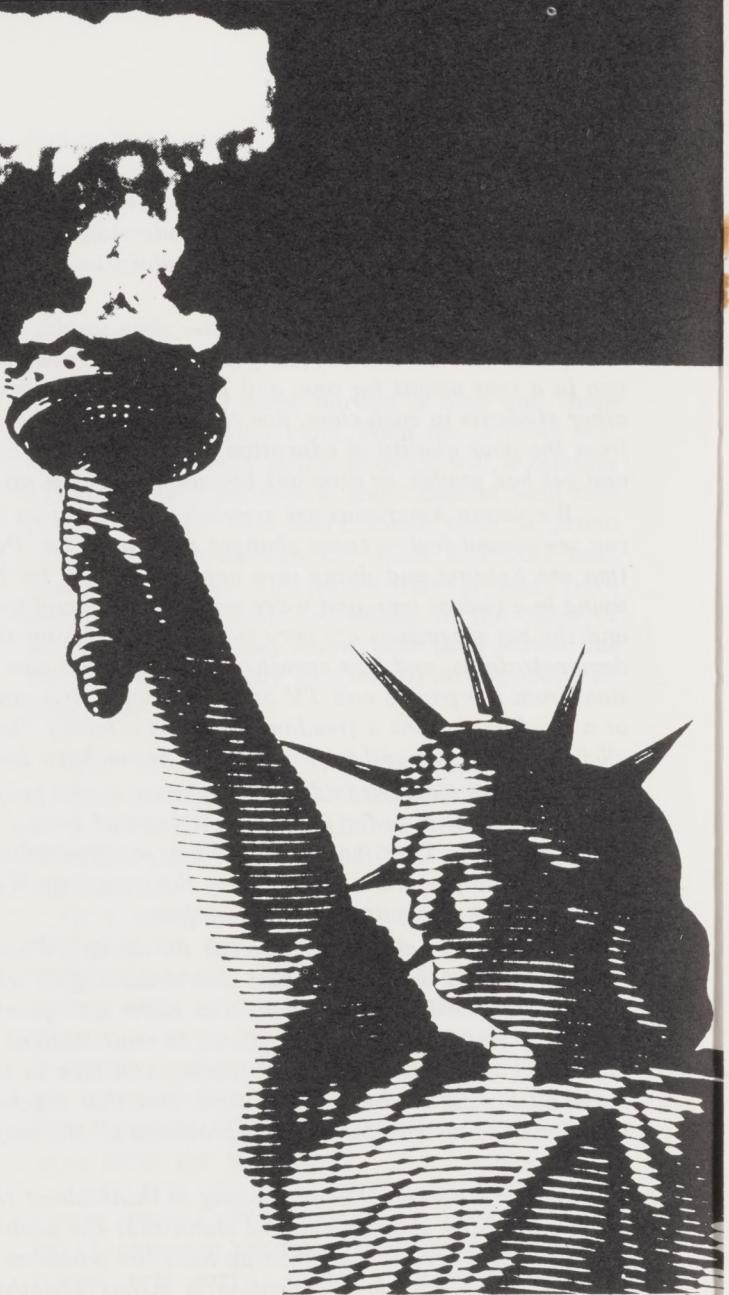
by Celia Rosebury

Just after World War II, when I was starting in elementary school, they instituted bomb drills. Oh, they called them "shelter drills," and "take cover drills," but we knew what they were. After all, they call a fire drill a fire drill, so why call a bomb drill a "shelter drill?"

The teacher would be talking, and all of a sudden, like somebody saying "Boo!" to cure your hiccups, she'd yell "TAKE COVER," and we would all scramble under the old wooden desks, bumping heads and elbows and feeling clumsy. Under the desks we'd giggle and make faces at each other, and wonder if the teacher was under *her* desk. Then we'd get the all-clear, and we'd climb back into our seats, with dust on our clothes and chewing gum that someone had deposited under the desk left in our hair.

Then there were the big kind of bomb drills that took a lot of time and let you miss a lot of work. They were heralded by bells or gongs like the fire drills, and you were supposed to remember the different kinds of signals so you'd know if it was a fire or if the Russians were coming. If the Russians were coming, you lined up in "size places," boys on one side of the room and girls on the other, and filed into the hallway. In the hall you sat against the wall and put your arms over your head, to ward off falling debris in case they dropped an atom bomb on P.S. 87.

P.S. 87 was built back when New York's West Side was farmland, and the halls were so narrow that when you sat against the wall your crossed legs touched the crossed legs of the kid sitting against the opposite wall. It hadn't been painted in many years, and you didn't need a bombing to see the plaster fall. The old building had rats; we knew it because we would make things out of papier mache — flour and water — and come in the next day and find the rats had chewed them



up during the night.

All over America, this pattern is repeated. P.S. 87 has been rebuilt, and the old ratty building torn down, but "shelter drills" are still standard procedure in the public schools, and ancient classrooms still serve many American youngsters, especially in the South of this country.

There are two things happening here. One is the crime involved when a government can spend billions of dollars on instruments of war and still the people must fight for the funds to provide adequate school facilities. The other is the effect on the minds of kids who grow up hiding under desks, and being told in indirect ways that they are in constant danger of being bombed.

These childhood memories of rooting around under the desks and sitting on hallway floors have

their funny side, but they were basically very grim, even at the time. There's a story told of a child who was asked to bring an old white sheet to school to put over himself "in case of enemy attack." (You'll remember, if you read Hersey's account of *Hiroshima*, that white clothing repelled the burning rays of the A-bomb.) The frightened child thought that the sheet was to be used to cover his corpse, if he should be killed in the attack. At one time public school students were required to wear "dog tags" — metal identification labels that were described as being made of a substance that would withstand a heat strong enough to sear human flesh. (Evidently so that after you were burnt, they would know who you were.) Such a climate of fear can hardly produce happy, relaxed children. In recent years "civil defense" measures have become somewhat subtler, but we are still surrounded by "Fallout Shelter" signs, still subjected to the agonizing shrieks of the air-raid sirens being "tested" every so often in our cities.

We are living in an atmosphere of subtle terror, and not-so-subtle hate. It is called the Cold War. The Cold War says that the socialist nations — especially the Soviet Union, and now China — are our enemies, and that they will attack us and overpower us if we are not stronger than they are. The Cold War says that we must have great military strength to be able to stop "Communism" from spreading all over the world, like some contagious disease that can be stopped by guns and tanks. The Cold War also tells us that we must beware of Communism taking over at home by "infiltration," by agents of a foreign conspiracy who sneak into our government and our institutions to destroy our American Way of Life.

And so we learn to hate and fear. We have a scapegoat; like the Germans learned to blame their problems in the 'thirties on the Jews, we can throw the blame for the ills of America on the Communists. (This is a trick we also learned from the Nazis. We have been allowed to forget that Hitler raged about Communism being the greatest danger to "freedom.") If you read the papers, you can certainly see that the grave international situation is the fault of the Communists. That's what all the experts say. (And there are some experts on race relations, mainly from the South, who also know that all would be peaceful between Negro and white in America if it weren't for those "Communists" from the North who go South and stir up all that hatred that didn't exist before.)

Yes, the answers are very simple. If we can't afford to build better schools, and raise teachers' salaries, and provide scholarships so that every kid can finish school — if we can't afford these things

it's because we need all the money we've got to fight Communism. Sound familiar? It should. Just a few weeks ago the government announced that it will have to cut some of the funds that were supposed to go to the War on Poverty, because the war on Vietnam is more important.

The Cold War affects every aspect of American life. Children play with toys of combat and destruction that are frighteningly sophisticated and realistic. Violence leaps at us from our TV and movie screens — why not? Our newspapers assure us that violence is heroic in Southeast Asia, so is it any wonder that violence has become routine and accepted in our entertainment? And if Americans have learned to find violence entertaining, should it surprise us that there is an increase in crimes of violence in our cities? Let's not forget that TV, films, toys and other such things play as much a part in our learning process as actual schooling.

The Cold War produced the mistrust and suspicion that enabled Senator McCarthy to rise to power on the myth that our government was full of "subversives" who must be exposed and destroyed. The techniques of McCarthyism are still used, against people who are fighting for social change, and against people who dare to doubt or disagree with what the Establishment says is Truth. The Cold War says that such people are dangerous to our "national security."

But perhaps the biggest effect of the Cold War can be seen in our schools. Ever since Sputnik showed that the Soviet Union presented a real challenge to the U.S., American education has been more and more used as a tool in the Cold War. We are told that the purpose of education is "to beat the Russians." There is a new emphasis on science and mathematics, because these are the essential fields in the development of weapons and military technology.

On university campuses there has been evidence of direct connections between the educational institution and the "military-industrial complex." Universities are mainly a training ground for the giant corporations. Men who are high in circles of big business make up the boards of regents of our big universities, and policies affecting curriculum and student behavior pass through their hands. And big business is the backbone of our military development. No wonder that ROTC — the training of military officers — has become a part of what is called "higher education" in the United States. And no wonder that education is more and more divorced from the real needs and problems of everyday Americans. The teachers who teach in the elementary schools and the high schools are trained

*continued . . .*

in these same universities, so the distortions bred at the university are handed down to all levels of education.

One of the most disastrous results of the Cold War's effect on our educational system has been the closed mind. The essence of the educational process is questioning, doubting, disbelieving and wanting to know the truth. But the philosophy of the Cold War says that to doubt is treason, and those who question must be suspected of undermining our way of life. Such an attitude creates closed minds, in teachers, students and administrators; people who accept what they are told without ques-

tion, who would never dream of rocking the boat. Teachers and students who challenge the system, who dare to keep an open mind, are subject to severe penalties. Teachers lose jobs, students are suspended or otherwise disciplined. Administrators who challenge the system, well — they don't get to be administrators.

And so our educational problems go very deep, to the roots of our present social and political attitudes. Some big changes will have to come in our national thinking before we can really clear up the mess than now exists in our schools, our mass media, and all of our institutions. We will have to begin to understand the social changes taking place around the world are not the result of some sinister "plot," but represent the attempts of underprivileged people to better their conditions by re-organizing their social and economic systems. If this is a threat, then it is only a threat to those who have a vested interest in maintaining a system that does not serve the public need. Our big businessmen, who profit from war and exploitation, do not want to see social changes that threaten their power. And our government has become an agency that serves the interests of American capitalists before it sees to the needs of the majority of our people. Together these men, who make up what we call the "Power Structure" or the "Establishment," control the institutions of America. Through advertising they control the press and the airwaves, and so they pretty much dictate what we learn about the world. The Cold War view is *their* view, but because we don't get much chance to hear the other side, it has become the view of most Americans. It is the view of most teachers, and it has become part and parcel of our educational system.

Truth of the matter is, it's only one of the many incongruities we face in this Twentieth Century. In Florida they send men in space for a week and on the other coast we have a prison with quiet cells, thick iron doors and cold concrete floors, in which human beings grow cold and shiver and sometimes might even cry to themselves when they're sure no one else is looking. We spend millions helping countries most of us will never see while our own second largest city is a battlefield of poverty and brutality.

We send packages of care to the starving multitudes across the sea and we send Government officials to survey the scenes of our own poverty and degradation. The rich may get probation for murder while the poor come to prison for conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. But it's rah, rah, go team go, all the way and each dollar is a first down, strike a currency marker for freedom . . . give a dime to Apple Annie and spit out the worm. But watch it, baby, and don't slip because life has a dark side and a light side and the view from here is a deep gray, shadows and things like that. It's Plato's cave we live in and your image flickers on our wall, but nevertheless, shadows and all . . . it's very revealing.

—From the San Quentin News  
Written by a prisoner.

## BASTILLE *by the* BAY

By JON CAREY

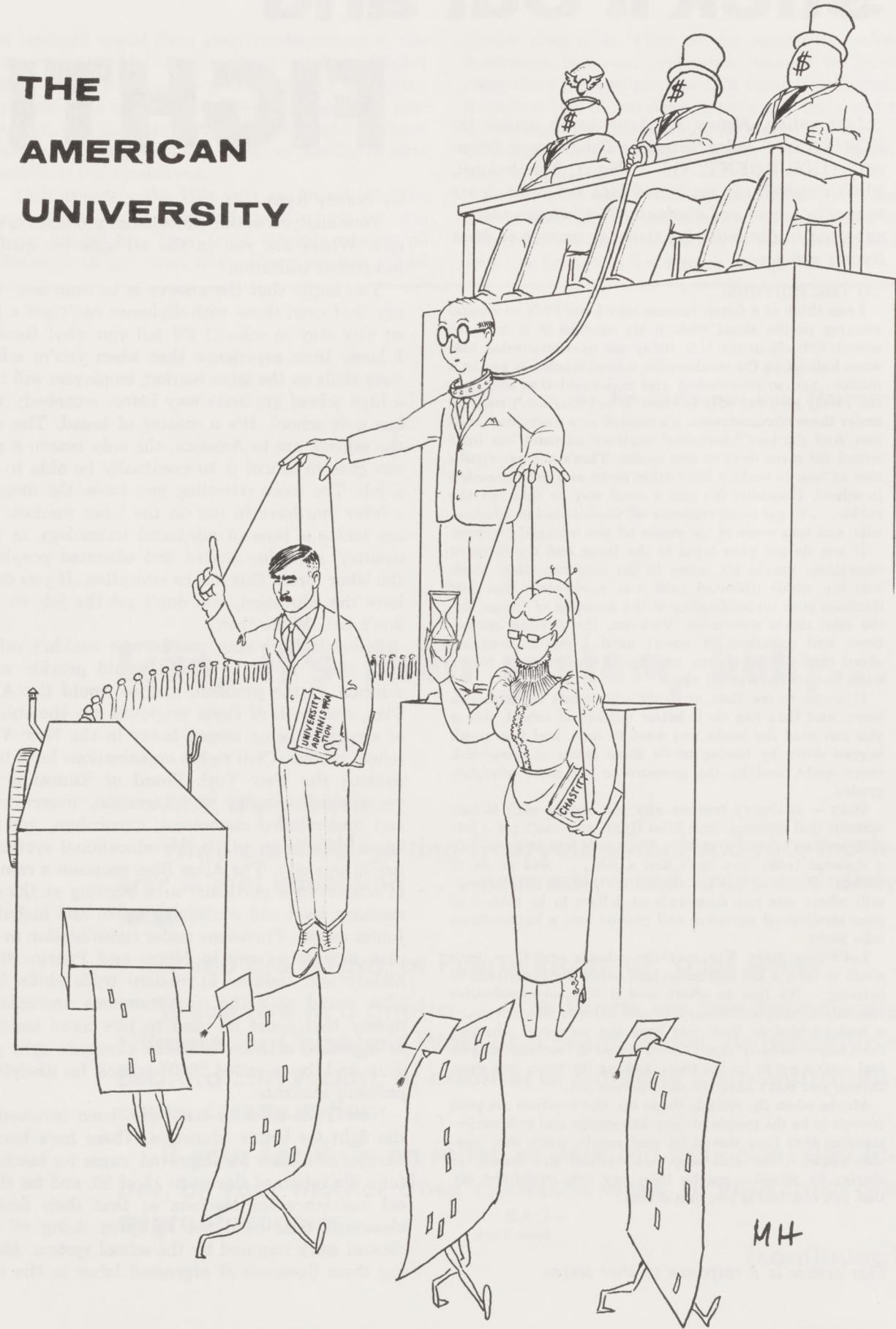
"Only with the presence of force can we maintain peace." Sounds like a pun from Winnie the Pooh, doesn't it? Well don't you believe it, we heard those words on television the other day from no less a person than the second in charge of the country. It does go along with our general philosophy though which is something like . . . "Money buys the peace and force maintains it." The whole thing makes about as much sense as hot dogs and peanut butter. Nevertheless it's there and whenever we think about complaining we look down at the number stamped in our shoe and with a raise of the eyebrows we dismiss the whole lousy mess.

Truth of the matter is, it's only one of the many incongruities we face in this Twentieth Century. In Florida they send men in space for a week and on the other coast we have a prison with quiet cells, thick iron doors and cold concrete floors, in which human beings grow cold and shiver and sometimes might even cry to themselves when they're sure no one else is looking. We spend millions helping countries most of us will never see while our own second largest city is a battlefield of poverty and brutality.

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In a climate of international peace and understanding, social change will come about with a minimum of disruption. We live in a changing world, and many changes which seem alien and unfamiliar must be accepted as tokens of progress for humanity. It will take great social changes to better our schools. Let us not hide under our desks and put our hands over our heads; let's stand up and speak out, for education and for truth.

# THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY



# **Stick it Out and**

# **FIGHT!**

Last spring, Nancy Ryan wrote an article for INSURGENT called "Straight Talk From a Dropout" (INSURGENT, Vol. 1, No. 1, March-April, 1965) in which she cautioned high school students to stay in school and graduate. The following letter appeared in the following issue, in answer to Miss Ryan's article:

#### **TO THE EDITORS:**

I can think of a dozen reasons why I wouldn't go around warning people about what a big mistake it is to leave school. Schools in the U.S. today are so overcrowded that some kids sit on the windowsills; a good teacher is one in a million, and so overworked and underpaid that she (he) can rarely give out fully in class. When kids don't respond under these circumstances, it's treated as a discipline problem. And the best "discipline" method: suspend 'em from school for three days or two weeks. That's the principal's idea of how to make a kid buckle down and get interested in school. Basically, it's just a good way to thin out the ranks . . . to get some students off those crowded windowsills, and take some of the strain off the besieged teachers.

If you do put your mind to the thing and try to learn something, maybe it's worse in the long run; they teach you the whole distorted cold war world-view that just confuses your understanding of the meaning of things like the civil rights movement, Vietnam, the African revolutions, and socialism. It wasn't until I started learning about these things on my own that I really began to see what knowledge was all about.

It seems to me than anybody who wants to learn can learn, and they can do it better outside of school, where you can read the books you want to read, and you aren't bogged down by having to do three hours of busy-work every night, and by the pressure to get those almighty grades.

Okay — so there's reasons why you should stick it out: without that diploma, says Miss Ryan, you can't get a job, and you can't go on to college. Well, let's face it, even with a diploma today you can't find a job . . . and go on to college? If you've got the dough, it's just an IBM treadmill where you pay thousands of dollars to be robbed of your intellectual initiative and poured into a button-down jello mold.

Let's face facts. The way the schools are, there isn't much to hold a kid and make him enjoy the experience of learning — it's just an effort, and it kills any tendencies you might have to find out what's between the covers of a book. Added to that, you have the very real situation that maybe nobody else in your house is working, so you feel you've got to be out there looking for work, too, even though you don't have the old diploma yet.

Maybe when the schools shape up, and teachers are paid enough to be the people of deep knowledge and rich understanding that they should be, and maybe when they provide stipends for kids who can't afford the luxury of staying in school — maybe then you can truthfully say that you're a fool if you quit school.

—C.A.R.  
New York.

*This article is a response to that letter.*

by Nancy Ryan

Your analysis of our educational problems is correct. Where are *you* in the struggle for quality, integrated education?

You imply that the answer is to drop out. You say that even those with diplomas can't get a job, so why stay in school? I'll tell you why! Because I know from experience that when you're selling your skills on the labor market, employers will take a high school graduate way before somebody who has quit school. It's a matter of bread. The way the schools are in America, the only reason a person goes to school is to eventually be able to get a job. The more schooling you have, the more of a lever you have to use on the labor market. We are facing a time of advanced technology in this country, requiring skilled and educated people in the labor force. This means education. If you don't have the education, you don't get the job, so you don't eat. What then?

Stipends for young people who couldn't otherwise afford to go to school would provide some solution to the problem, and so would the Allen Plan, and both of these proposals are the subject of struggles being waged today in the New York school system. Civil rights organizations have been fighting the New York Board of Education for years on the issues of integration, overcrowded and understaffed classrooms, curriculum, and the whole manner in which the educational system is run in this city. The Allen Plan proposes a campus of schools in a particular area starting at the elementary level and continuing up to and including junior college. Provisions under consideration in the plan include courses in Negro and Puerto Rican history and training in modern trade skills. The plan would save the city enormous amounts of money that could be used to hire more teachers at increased salaries; it would eliminate split sessions and the so-called "600" schools for discipline-problem students.

New York teachers have also been involved in the fight for better education. There have been a number of strikes for improved wages for teachers, for a limitation of classes to 15 or 20, and for clerical assistance for teachers so that their limited classroom time need not be spent doing all the clerical work required by the school system. Meeting these demands of organized labor in the case

of teachers would have great consequences in the improvement of the educational system. Higher wages is a fundamental prerequisite to attracting qualified and capable people into the teaching profession, and the improvement of working conditions for teachers will result in a higher quality of education in our classrooms.

Unfortunately the kids who are in school right now cannot enjoy these advances which are still being fought for. They must struggle against all the odds to get what little education our school

system does offer. They do get something: most Americans can read and write because we have compulsory education. You talk about intellectual initiative, but if one doesn't have the basis of an education, advanced learning isn't possible. If you don't finish high school, your "intellectual initiative" is crippled.

Our schools are in bad shape, I agree, but the answer for students, teachers, and others, is not to "drop out" of the problem, but to stay with it, and join the fight 'til we see some changes.

---

by Jim Peake and Ruth Markman

## **Like, it's their system, baby...**

**And it's a bitch.**

**What are YOU getting from your school and your teachers? A real education . . . or mostly hard times and dirty looks?**

**If you are Negro, or Puerto Rican, or "poor white" . . .**

**If you live in a ghetto . . . in Watts, or San Francisco's Fillmore, or Chicago's West and South Sides, or Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant, or another of America's concentration-camp communities . . .**

**If your family is on relief, or your old man does day labor, or your mother does domestic work, or your folks are migrant workers . . .**

**(continued)**

then your teachers probably studied at a college like the state teachers colleges in California where they are taught that you and your family are "lower-lower" class, and one of their textbooks tells them:

*This group . . . includes from 15% to 25% of the total population . . . are looked down upon by the remainder of society — the word "scum" is frequently used in referring to them . . . much desertion and separation, frequent and violent fights between husband and wife are common . . . husbands typically spend little time with family . . . income is so low that unemployment or a depression period quickly makes them the concern of relief and charity organizations. Although begging is frowned upon, they make their desires known to generous employers and readily accept gifts of cast-off clothing, food and discarded furniture. . . . Lower-lower class adults take practically no part in community affairs. It is difficult to get them to visit the school to help teachers help their children. . . . They feel that all others are against them. . . . When pupils use language the teacher disapproves of, have hands, faces and bodies that need washing, and do not have the motivation for application, it is difficult to show hearty acceptance."*

In other words, you, your parents, your whole way of life are inferior. The idea that you and those like you are second-class, not as good, is built into the American school system. It is this idea which justifies our "two-class education" system, in which poor and minority kids get one kind of education, and wealthier, middle-class white kids get another, much different one.

In your grandfather's day, it was much more simple for the people who operate the system — the men who run your city, and this country, for their own profit — to make sure that only the wealthier kids got a good education. Back then, if you were poor, if you were black, you went to work — while kids from the "right side of the tracks" went to school.

Now they must keep up the front that "all are treated equally." This makes it trickier to provide two different kinds of education inside the same school system. The magic word that is used to explain and excuse this division, this discrimination, is the word that seems to say everything and yet doesn't really mean anything, "*intelligence*." The kind of education you get is determined by your "*intelligence*." So they rig up a system that says if you are poor, or if you are the wrong color, then you are not as "*intelligent*" as your richer, whiter neighbor. Then you are divided into groups, not by race, not by income, but by "*intelligence*."

Where they can get away with it, they separate

you by de facto segregation, otherwise known as the "neighborhood school system." If you come from a poor neighborhood, like a white slum or a Negro ghetto, then they keep you in a school in your own neighborhood, with "your own people." And you get whatever education can be provided on what is left over after the white kids in the suburbs are taken care of.

Even within the same schools, they have figured out how to separate the poor from the not-so-poor. In the grade schools it is called "Ability Grouping" . . . another jive term for the same old scene. Richer, white, more "*intelligent*" kids go into the "Class A" group. And poor, colored, all the "*less intelligent*" go into "Class B."

Then in high school they keep you divided by the courses of study you take. The "Class A" students take courses which prepare them for college. If you are in the inferior "Class B" group, you take "practical" courses (commercial, technical and vocational — the scrap heap of high school education in our system). Minority and working class students in American schools get a raw deal. You get a second-class education, second-class treatment from most teachers, and second-class status in all those school activities where social prestige, clothes, money or teacher preference make a difference.

Placement in elementary school is determined by the score you make on an Intelligence Quotient (better known as I.Q.) test. This phony test was put out by the power structure that controls the schools (and damn near everything else) to measure what they think is important, what they see as "*intelligence*." And the I.Q. test does the job they want it to do. It segregates on economic class and racial lines.

After you score low on their I.Q. test and you are placed in a "slow track" class, they make sure that you come out of grade school as a second-class student. A college professor, Dr. Tumin, has written: "When children are grouped into talent groupings . . . the tendency seems to be to teach children in terms of this pre-set categorization, and thus to insure that slow children remain slow or are made even slower. In short, grouping tends to lead to actions which only serve to reinforce the labels placed on the children in the first instance, and often placed there without any sound justification."

When you come out of a grade school where you were segregated by race and class — or should we say, by "I.Q." — you move into a new kind of discrimination in high school based on "program." This means that one set of courses called "college preparatory" is provided for middle-class kids which readies them for college; another set



PHOTO BY TED REICH

of courses (business, technical, vocational) exists for those who are not bound for a university.

It is possible that the business courses are somewhat useful. But in the vocational program, you get at best inadequate and outdated training for jobs which are not there and haven't been there for a long time, and at worst a kind of reform school. Teachers in other subjects tell their students "vocational classes are for the kids who don't have the brainpower to do anything else." You are taught by teachers many of whom have never been in a machine shop and wouldn't know what to do if they were. Many of these teachers look at you with fear, hatred and contempt. They teach you how to make metal dust pans, lamps out of wine-bottles, and hand-made furniture. They teach you nothing about modern industrial production — the skills, requirements or real working conditions.

In the past you could get out of this mess by quitting school and going to work. But now there are fewer and fewer jobs to go to. And while you are told that most drop-outs are unemployed and that you should stay in school, the truth for many kids — especially Negroes and Puerto Ricans — is that the job picture is not much brighter for you as a high school graduate than as a dropout. Of course, there is always a place for you in the "poor man's army" which is fighting and dying in the "rich man's war" in Vietnam.

And so you have a "two-class" unequal educational system which in the long run hurts both the poor kid and the middle-class kid. The poor kid, the student from a minority group, is "kept in his place," that is, denied the tools, the understanding, the opportunity to work to change his situation. And the middle-class kid is turned into an educated hustler, a narrow specialist who knows a

great deal about one small area of a subject but has lost all sight of a main object of education — the fearless pursuit of truth, wherever it may lead.

The sponsors of the "two-class system" — the power structure — have worked out their operation with skill and care. But young people are waking up — and fighting back. The fight is not against all education (we must have knowledge to change things). The fight is not between poor youth and middle-class young people. The enemy is the system that keeps both groups from securing full educational opportunity — the enemy is the power structure. And all young people — poor and middle-class, black and white, must fight together to change the educational system, to make it a one-class system which provides a truly equal education for all — an educational system which can provide us with the skills to build a world free from war and want.

Parents are demanding change. Honest teachers are speaking out. And change is coming. In Berkeley, in Chicago, in New York, young people are marching, picketing, boycotting, fighting. . . . They are saying, "It's their system now, baby, but it's gonna be our system soon."

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## **FREEDOM SCHOOLS**

# **Freedom Summer**

*The following is taken from Freedom Summer, by Sally Belfrage (Viking Press, 1965, \$5). In this book, Miss Belfrage gives a vivid account of the historic summer of 1964 when she was one of hundreds of volunteers from across America who went to Mississippi to challenge the murderous racial exploitation in that state. She was librarian of the Greenwood, Mississippi Freedom School.*

by Sally Belfrage

The children sat in small groups under trees on the lawn or on the steps of the church. More than a dozen were learning to speak French with a drawl; nearby, half as many were studying Spanish; and a group of three, German. Foreign languages, not taught in their schools, were the most eagerly chosen elective subjects — they suggested other worlds and possibilities. A few yards away another half dozen were conducting a creative writing class. Bret Breneman, their teacher, was asking them to describe the difference between two stones, a rough light one and a smooth dark one. By the end of the summer, they had their own mimeographed newspaper, the *Freedom Carrier*, and had written and performed a play.

At first there were difficulties in finding a place for the school; pressure was put on ministers, who offered their churches. For a fortnight they were on the move, with no one certain where tomorrow's school would be. Eventually they settled in the Friendship Baptist Church, and separated among the pews for their various classes or joined again for general sessions on the subjects in which all participated: English, citizenship, Negro history. On a typical day, the French class was singing old Edith Piaf songs around the piano, Bret's group was upstairs in the sacristy where they were learning lines, and an English class was discussing *Moby Dick* and variations of whiteness — white doesn't have to be bad (if it's a whale). They finished and everyone listened to *Freedom Now*, a Pacifica

broadcast on the Birmingham crisis. Judy Walborn asked the children to keep some questions in mind as they listened: What was the object of the Birmingham demonstrations? What was the reaction of the white community?

There were interviews with or commentaries on the major figures in the crisis — Bull Connor, Martin Luther King, representatives of U.S. Steel, the mayor, Burke Marshall, President Kennedy, and a white businessman on the bi-racial committee that solved the problem by employing "one Nigra in one store." Judy got them roleplaying afterward. The children volunteered for the parts of all the cast of characters and got inside the drama. They knew the southern types backwards, but even the boy playing President Kennedy spoke on the phone to Martin Luther King in a powerful Boston accent, "The Federal government is not empowahed to act." In the end they connected Birmingham to Greenwood: "If there were a thousand people demonstrating in the streets of Greenwood, what would be done?"

Mississippi is the only state with no compulsory education law. Negro children in many communities have to go to school in mid-summer in order to work in the cotton fields in the spring and fall. Throughout the state more than two thousand students, twice the expected number — most of them high school sophomores and juniors but spreading out to include the aged and the toddlers — enrolled in 41 two-month Freedom Schools. (34 of these were to continue into the winter.) The teachers were ordinary college students with no special training; the curriculum and its presentation were as unorthodox as the classrooms, which were often little better than the few feet of grass, in the hundred degree weather, on which they began in Greenwood. There were few textbooks and blackboards, and no examinations; the student body shifted, as did the lessons — which often sprang spontaneously from the events of the day, the newspapers, the questions of the children, the lives of the teachers. Discussion could go off on any sort of tangent, depending only on everyone's curiosity, responsiveness, and energy. In the words of the curriculum, the goals were "To provide remedial instruction in basic educational skills, but more importantly, to implant habits of free-thinking and ideas of how a free society works, and to lay a groundwork for a statewide youth movement."

The effort to stimulate the students to think out their problems and possible methods of dealing with them depended more on questions than on answers. The citizenship curriculum, for example, examined such realities as the Negro in the North, the poor Negro and the poor white, the Movement,

the power structure; but implicit in the facts were recurrent questions: Why are we (teachers and students) in Freedom Schools? What is the Freedom Movement and what alternatively does it offer us? What does the majority culture have that we want? that we don't want? and what do we have that we want to keep?

Popular beliefs were examined that Negroes are inferior, lazy, happy and satisfied, incapable or unwilling to participate in government; and the reasons for the beliefs — that there are those who profit from their perpetuation.

The problem of overcoming them was defined in the curriculum:

1. The "power structure" is one force that helps to maintain the world; in the South, that helps to maintain the terrible world of segregation.
2. That "power structure" derives its power, in the final analysis, from the fears of both whites and Negroes.
3. Poor whites and Negroes are oppressed by the "power structure." We have much in common.
4. If poor whites and Negroes could get together and move out from under the "power structure," that structure would fall.
5. We do not move because we are afraid.
6. Generally, the Negro's fear is based upon very real danger.
7. Generally, the white's fear is based upon guilt.
8. Fear — whatever the cause — produces lies.
9. Living lies bends and breaks us.
10. That is to say — keeps us from being whole.  
That is to say — keeps us from being free.

And finally, "If lies enslave us, then truth will free us. What is the truth? Or, the same question, "What is freedom?"

There were discussions of Negro history, of Re-

construction — from a point of view denied the students in their regular schools — and of African culture; of the Movement, its tactics and goals, of Mississippi politics and the FDP, and the Civil Rights Act.

The schools really accomplished something by the time the summer was out. Most students had begun with no higher ambition than to leave Mississippi the moment they were independent enough: just get out of there, seek the good life they felt sure existed in Chicago, San Francisco, anywhere North. They learned they would not find it there; more important, what they might accomplish at home through organization, understanding, work. No one really taught them these things: they pooled what they knew, and they were for the first time taken seriously. Probably more than half of them changed their minds about migrating, and then they set about changing what they had. In one community they decided to boycott the public school until their demands were met. In August Freedom School students met in a state convention in Meridian and compiled their grievances into an immense platform, covering everything from education (better teachers and facilities, integration, academic freedom, nine consecutive months of school), through health (school health programs, mental health facilities, medicare, "all patients should be addressed properly"), voting, housing, civil liberties, law enforcement (protection from mobs, abolition of punitive sterilization laws, Negro policemen able to arrest anyone, Federal trials of cases against law enforcement agencies, police must possess warrants), to foreign affairs ("The United States should stop supporting dictatorships in other countries and should support that government which the majority of the people want").

They did much more; they taught their teachers.

## We Need Freedom Schools in the North

*Reprinted from The Movement, May 1965*

The history of the American school system is one of molding young people to fit in the society, to advance the system. The idea of challenge to the existing structure is thwarted early. If there is little academic freedom in colleges, there is none in high schools. Students are directed to look at things "objectively" and "practically" rather than as things really affecting their lives. In the end, there is perhaps little difference between the high schools in Mississippi and those in Los Angeles.

There is a thread between those students who have been intimidated in Mississippi for raising questions with teachers about their ability to vote or about segregation, and those who are intimidated and isolated in the North for raising questions about loyalty oaths for teachers, the students' role in choosing a curriculum, what student government really is, or who determines policy for school newspapers. And there is a final thread perhaps, be-

*continued . . .*

## WE NEED FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH *continued*

tween those students and others whose only protest is to drop out of school because they can't fit into the mold.

The Mississippi high school students were not as caught up in abstractions, so they not only raised their own questions, they taught the teachers how to relate. Many students had no education in the proper sense, so what they gave to the white students from the North was themselves. They did not need college degrees to do that. People are called "ignorant" if they know about nothing except their own lives. Are people "educated" if they know about everything except their own lives? That was the question which related the young Mississippi Negroes to their northern teachers.

Can students feel free to talk about themselves in high schools — their fears, shames, guilts, God, happiness, joys? I don't think so. Most schools seem to try to make people ashamed of what they are so they'll want to be something else (more pliable to the system). That's what my school tried to do to me. It got so bad, the only reasons I went to school were because of the dances and sports, and because there was no place else to go. I couldn't talk about my life because it had little to do with my teacher's life. It certainly had nothing to do with what my country wanted me to be.

I think people can talk about themselves in

Freedom Schools, but only if the atmosphere is right, only if they feel that they can do that freely. The leader must continually ask questions — not only of the people, but about themselves, the deepest questions, ultimately what am I and why? Can leaders (mostly college students who grew up in this society) trust themselves enough to pose these questions? Are they that free? It is not accidental that the leaders of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley came out of the Freedom School experience of the summer before. Students who had gone South to help free other people saw, when returning to their universities, that they were as deeply slaves as the people in Mississippi.

The purpose of a Freedom School in the North is to create, by raising basic questions, an educational experience for young people which would make it possible for them to challenge the authority of a system which stifles and destroys, and to seek new directions for action.

Can young people, who've been told that they're too young, not qualified, not fully educated, that they have to be molded and developed and have to be administered, make decisions about their own lives just as they are? Can they run their own school newspaper, student government, Board of Education? Maybe by the end of the Freedom School session some of these questions will have been dealt with.

—J.G.

### WHY I DROPPED OUT

About two years ago I flunked school because I was afraid of getting a whipping from a man teacher. I repeated the same grade next year, and passed to the eleventh grade and went under the same man that year for business math. That summer\* by the business math room in the agriculture classes workshop room they were building a two-bale cotton trailer. My business math teacher would go and get one of the one-by-four planks they were sawing off the trailer and use it to whip boys and girls both — girls just as hard as the boys. For seven weeks just about every Monday and Friday evening he would whip us, about our lessons and any other thing he was mad at. So I told him I would rather go home than get a whipping and he said if I go home I should just stay there. That Friday I walked away from the school and Monday I stayed home and went to the doctor.

I came back to the school that Tuesday. I was still sick. I made it through my fourth period class and then I went to the principal to ask may I go home and he said have I reported to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ to get my whipping, and I said "No, sir." He said don't set foot in that school no more until I get my whipping. Then I said "I can't take no more whipping cause of what the

doctor say. The first time it cost \$7 and the second time \$4 and what do you think that is? Eleven dollars. Then \$3.60 for pills."

And Professor \_\_\_\_\_, the principal, just said don't set foot in that school no more til I get my whipping.

I stayed out of school all that week because of sickness and I was still sick the next week. I went back that Monday morning and I wasn't well then. The principal caught me in my second period class and asked me had I been to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ to get my whipping, and I said "No, sir."

So the principal took me by the hand to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ and said, "Here's a young lady to see you." And Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ said I had to get the whipping. And it ain't no whipping — it's a beating, I call it. I told him I couldn't take no whipping and he told me if I didn't take no whipping to take my books and go home.

And now I'm a school dropout and I can't go to no school close around because schools are overcrowded and I'm not able to get a fare and go nowhere else and work my way through school. I won't go back because I guarantee you, one of that man's whippings, it's going to bust the blisters on you.

Mae Ella Franklin  
Age 17  
Marks, Mississippi

\*In small southern towns Negro schools have sessions in the summer so the kids can pick cotton in the fall.

*When did the Movement start? Was it in 1775 when the first abolitionist society was formed? Or in 1663 when the first slave revolt was planned? Maybe it was in 1526 when the first slaves ran away and joined the Indians. Then again, you might say that it began thousands of years ago when, even then, human beings were oppressed by their fellow men and they found that there is something in the human spirit which can't stand chains . . .*

Text by:  
BOBBI CIECIORKA  
FRANK CIECIORKA

Drawings by:  
FRANK CIECIORKA

# Negroes in American History: **A FREEDOM PRIMER**

(Continued from the last issue of INSURGENT)

## PART 4:

### NEGROES AND INDIANS

IN THE EARLY days of the United States, settlers sometimes used Indians for slaves. They did not make very good slaves because they would often die when they were kept in slavery. Also, they knew the country better than the white people. They could easily hide when they ran away so that the white people could never find them.

White people very soon found that Negroes made much better slaves. They could be used for years and years. They could be treated very badly before the hard work would kill them. It was a strange land for the black folk. Even when they did run away they were usually caught.

Some whites did keep Indians for slaves as well as Negroes. And even when they weren't slaves, Indians often lived near the white people. Whites usually treated Indians in the same way they treated Negroes. So, Negroes and Indians were usually friendly with each other. Some Indians were afraid of the blacks. They called them "devil-gods." But often their hatred of white people made



Indians and Negroes friends. Many of them intermarried so that Negro slaves had free Indian husbands and wives. Sometimes they intermarried so much that whole Indian tribes became part of the Negro race.

When slaves ran away from their masters, they would often go to live with the Indians. Negroes joined just about every Indian tribe in the whole United States, even the ones in the far West. Usually runaway slaves lived with the nearby tribes in the South. Most often they joined the Seminoles.

Some of the Indians kept runaways as slaves for themselves. But most of the time the Negroes would live with the Indians. Sometimes they lived in separate villages just like the Indian villages. The blacks would become members of the tribes. They would be warriors and sometimes even chiefs. They helped the Indians by telling them about the white people. When Indians had to talk with whites, Negroes would often do the talking for them. Negroes knew more about the white people and could talk with them better.

THERE WERE MANY wars between whites and Indians. Negroes would sometimes help the Indians in these wars. When the Indians won one of these wars, they would kill all the white people they captured. They almost never killed the Negro slaves. Sometimes white people would fight wars with Indians just to get back runaway slaves.

Once, about a thousand slaves took over a fort in West Florida. It had belonged to the British. They had abandoned it after the War of 1812. The United States government decided that too many Indian raids were coming from West Florida — which was not a part of the United States then. So, in 1816, the government sent Andrew Jackson with an army to attack the fort. He attacked and captured it. He sent all the slaves who weren't killed back into slavery. Many Indians were killed too. That started the first Seminole war.

The war ended in 1818. In 1835, a runaway slave girl who had married a Seminole warrior was caught and sent back to slavery. Her angry husband led the Seminoles in an attack which started the second Seminole war. During this war at least 500 Negroes were caught and sent back into slavery. Many more Indians were killed. The reason the government gave for the wars was Indian attacks. But the real reason for both wars was to get back some of the slaves who had run away.

The Seminoles and the Negroes stuck together. In 1839, when the Indians and the government made peace, the Seminoles were sent to live in Oklahoma. And the black Indians went with the red ones.



#### PART 5:

#### WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

FREEDOM! That was the dream of every slave. Not just men, but women too. They dreamed of a day when they would be free. Harriet Tubman was such a woman. Born a slave in Maryland, Harriet escaped to the North when she was 25. But freedom for just herself was not enough and soon Harriet was heading South again.

She knew she would be a slave again if she were caught but Harriet went back to her old home. She led out her brothers and her old mother and father. The way was long and hard. They had to travel at night so they wouldn't be seen. They had to swim across rivers and much of the way they had to walk. Harriet brought them all to freedom. But even that was not enough. Harriet returned to the South 19 times and led out over 300 slaves.

All the slave owners hated her. They said they would pay as much as \$40,000 to anyone who caught her. But Harriet was careful and never got caught. She always seemed to know when there was trouble ahead and what to do about it. Even in the middle of the night she seemed to know which way to turn.

Sometimes she had to be hard with the people she was leading. Not everyone was as strong and brave as Harriet Tubman. If there was a baby in the group, Harriet would feed it dope. Then it would stay asleep and not cry. She always carried a gun with her. One time a man was very tired. He said he couldn't go any farther. Harriet pointed the gun at him and said, "Dead folks tell no tales. You go on or die." So the man went on to freedom.

Sometimes Harriet led the people all the way to Canada. There were laws in the United States that said runaway slaves had to be sent back to their masters. Harriet was a famous part of what was called the "underground railroad." The underground railroad didn't have trains or tracks. It wasn't a real railroad at all. It was the name given to all the people who helped slaves escape.

There were people all along the way to the North who would hide slaves in their barns and cellars. They would feed them and give them clothes. These people hated slavery just as much as Harriet did. They helped runaway slaves even though it was against the law. When Harriet talked about the underground railroad she would say, "I nebber run my train off de track and I nebber lost a passenger." And out of all her trips, she never did lose anyone.

With the Civil War, it looked like slavery would soon come to an end. But Harriet did not feel her job was done or that the war was for men only. She served as a nurse on the battlefield and as a spy for the Union Army.

THERE WAS A slave named Isabella who grew up

in New York. She became free when New York law freed all the slaves in that state. She was a very religious woman and she believed in freedom. One day she walked out of New York City carrying a bag of clothes and 25 cents. She started to preach freedom all over the country. She changed her name to Sojourner Truth. Sojourner means someone who stays for only a little while and then goes on. Sojourner traveled, stopping here and then there, and always talking about freedom.

She would tell the story of going out to look at a wheat field. She saw the wheat standing there so big and tall. She took ahold of the wheat and there was no wheat there. So she asked God, "What is de matter wid dis wheat?" And God said, "Sojourner, dere is a little weasel in it." (She meant weevil.)

And then she would talk about the Constitution and the rights of man. She said, "I come up and I takes holt of dis Constitution and I feels for my rights but dere ain't any dere. Den I says, 'God, what ails dis Constitution?' And He says to me, 'Sojourner, dere is a little weasel in it.'"

Sojourner was a famous abolitionist talker. Few of the many people who listened to this tall, dark women ever forgot her.

#### PART 6:

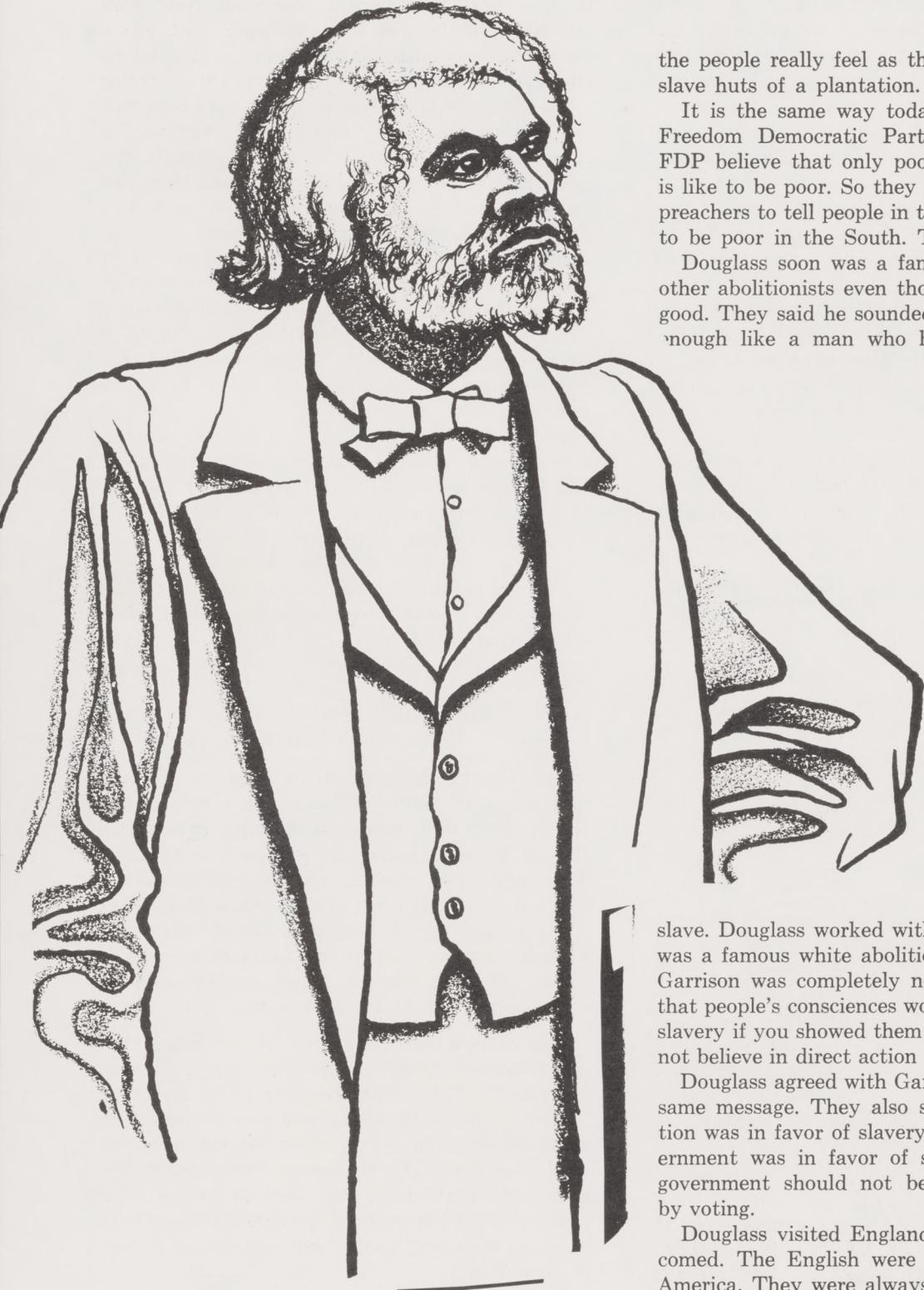
### FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND THE ABOLITIONISTS

ALL DURING SLAVERY there were people who fought against slavery. They were mostly in the North. They were called Abolitionists. Some, like Harriet Tubman, helped slaves escape. Others, like Sojourner Truth, talked about the evils of slavery. But not all abolitionists were Negroes. Many were white people. For a long time the Negroes who worked with the abolitionists didn't have much of a voice in the movement. After a while, Negroes really began to fight for themselves.

ONE OF THE most famous of Negro abolitionists was Frederick Douglass. He was born a slave in Maryland in 1817. When he was a child, he taught himself to read. Slaves did not have schools. The white people knew that learning to read and write would make the slaves want to know more. And knowledge would make them want to be free. That was just what happened to Frederick Douglass. In 1838, he borrowed a sailor suit and got on a train to New York.

The tall, handsome Douglass soon became an abolitionist speaker. The people never heard anything like him before. Most speakers were white men or free Negroes. Douglass had been a slave. He could tell people first hand what it was like. He was also a very good speaker. He could make





Frederick Douglass

the people really feel as though they were in the slave huts of a plantation.

It is the same way today with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The people in the FDP believe that only poor people know what it is like to be poor. So they don't send lawyers and preachers to tell people in the North what it is like to be poor in the South. They send poor people.

Douglass soon was a famous abolitionist. Some other abolitionists even thought Douglass was too good. They said he sounded too educated and not enough like a man who had been a mistreated

slave. Douglass worked with William Garrison. He was a famous white abolitionist in Massachusetts. Garrison was completely non-violent. He believed that people's consciences would make them give up slavery if you showed them how evil it was. He did not believe in direct action or any kind of violence.

Douglass agreed with Garrison and preached the same message. They also said that the Constitution was in favor of slavery and therefore the government was in favor of slavery. They said the government should not be supported. Not even by voting.

Douglass visited England and was warmly welcomed. The English were shocked by slavery in America. They were always very kind to the abolitionists who visited them. While he was in England, some of Douglass' friends raised money and bought his freedom. After that he could not be caught as a runaway slave when he came back to America.

After he returned to America, Douglass met John Brown, the militant white abolitionist. Brown believed in action. He said conscience would not change the slaveowners. Hitting them in the pocket book would. He planned to organize an army in the Virginia mountains and raid plantations from it. All the slaves would be freed. They would either hide in the mountains or go north to freedom. Douglass, because of his non-violence, did not like Brown's idea at first. But he began to lose faith in changing men's hearts. He began to agree more and more with Brown.

In 1859, Brown rented a farm near Harper's Ferry in West Virginia. He planned to capture the government weapons there and use it as a base. Douglass didn't approve of this part of the plan when he heard about it. He didn't think Brown could succeed in an attack against federal property. Brown's plot did fail and he was hanged. But his spirit was not forgotten.

Frederick Douglass became more militant. He finally broke with Garrison to work on his own. He started a newspaper called the *North Star*. (He chose the name because slaves followed the north star when they were escaping north to freedom.) Douglass studied the Constitution and finally decided that it was against slavery. He felt abolitionists should work to get it enforced as an anti-slavery document.

One of Douglass' fellow workers at the time was Henry Garnet. Also a black man, Garnet favored a national slave strike. He said, "Rather die free-men than live to be slaves." Douglass, too, began to favor direct action.

ABOLITIONISTS DIDN'T WIN much in those years and Douglass became discouraged. He planned to visit Haiti. He thought about having Negroes move to the island in large numbers. Always before he had opposed such movements. He said America was the black man's home now and this was where he should stay. Just as Douglass was about to leave for Haiti, the Civil War broke out. "God be praised!" cried Douglass when he heard the news.

President Lincoln had not yet said whether he was for or against slavery. Some of the states that had slavery were still with the Union. They were called border states. Lincoln was afraid they would join the Confederates if he said he was against slavery. Douglass and the abolitionists worked hard to educate the country and Lincoln. They tried to show that the war had to end slavery.



Douglass even personally visited Lincoln to put pressure on him. Lincoln wanted to go slow. At one time he even suggested that the border states should end slavery by 1900!

But the Union needed Negroes to fight. It was this need, more than belief in the rights of man, that ended slavery. Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation on New Year's Day in 1863. Whatever the reason, the abolitionists were joyful. They had finally won freedom.

During the rest of the war, Douglass was busy getting Negroes to join the army. Until his death in 1895, Frederick Douglass remained a fighter for Negro rights. He did all that he could to make the dream of freedom real for all black people.

*The Freedom Primer will continue in the next issue of INSURGENT.*

*INSURGENT is reprinting this Freedom Primer in serial form with the permission of The Student Voice, Inc., 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.*

# HUGER'S VIEWS



by Hugh Fowler  
National Chairman  
of the DuBois Clubs

President Johnson has announced that there will be a reduction in the funds for the War on Poverty as a result of the growing demands of the war in Vietnam. But Johnson did not ask the poor people of this country, on whom the money was to have been spent, whether they wanted the funds used to help them live or to kill Vietnamese. If such decisions were made by the poor people, or the everyday working people of America, I do not think we would today be sending American boys to fight in Vietnam.

Assuming that Johnson asks somebody before he makes major policy decisions, who could it be? If not the poor and working people, we are left with that small minority, the "power structure": the corporate elite, the military and industrial leaders whose influence on policy far outweighs their numbers. The interests of these powerful men are generally antagonistic to the interests of working people, and this war in Vietnam is no exception. The power structure would like to see the war in Vietnam continue and grow, because they are profiting from it financially. According to the *Wall Street Journal* the reason for the tremendous increase in the volume of the stock market is the war in Vietnam. Besides munitions makers, who obviously profit from the war, our military activity means a general

boom for almost all businessmen. In today's complex society, the increased military effort increases the output and the profits of almost every major industry.

Business is booming . . . but are profits passed along down the line to the men and women whose work makes production possible? Does everyone profit from this war? No. Somewhere along the way, someone has to pay, because war is a very wasteful thing. War destroys life; it also destroys food, clothing and machinery. War is very costly, and the money to support it must come from somewhere, so Johnson says that he will take some of the money from the War on Poverty to make up for the losses on the battlefield. This means that the people must pay. They must give up not only money but the opportunity for a better life that the government seemed to offer when it spoke of a War on Poverty. And meanwhile, a small group of people profit from the war. It is the same elite who help to make the important governmental decisions.

An indication of how the war is used to increase the profits of a few, against the interests of the many, is the fact that in recent months, whenever major strikes have threatened, they have been avoided; not by normal channels of mediation, but by Johnson saying he would not permit a strike or a walkout because it might endanger the war effort. The strike is the most powerful bargaining tool that labor has in fighting for better working conditions, shorter hours, and a living wage. To curtail this hard-won right of working people, the President uses the excuse of the war "emergency"—a war which has never yet been officially declared by Congress. Whose interests are served by this undeclared war? Johnson's strike policy gives the answer.

But the most important argument against the war in Vietnam is not that the working people are losing money, or even that they are losing rights—though these are crucial. The basic losses of our people in this war are reckoned in lives. Already the official figure for the number of Americans

"killed, missing or wounded" in Vietnam approaches 10,000—and official figures tend to underestimate. We have about 250,000 men in Southeast Asia now, and there is talk of sending upwards of one million. Where do these young men come from? They come mainly from working class and poor families, families who cannot afford to keep their sons in school indefinitely, or in some other way buy exemption from military service. Men who enlist are frequently from the most dispossessed segments of society; the disenchanted who join up in the service as a means of escaping the harsh conditions of unemployment and slum life. (The draft was offered as one "solution" to the problem of Watts and similar areas.) Thus, it is the poor and working people who provide the manpower for war.

But it is not only in terms of self-interest that the American people must see the wrong of this war. This country is murdering countless thousands of innocent Vietnamese; no secret is made of the fact that many of them are women and children. The excuse for the destruction we are waging is that we are preventing Communism from taking over South Vietnam. We are told that if America does not take a stand in Vietnam, we will soon be fighting the Red Chinese on the beaches of California. We are told that Communism means aggression, killing and destruction. Yet it is becoming clear that we are the aggressors here; it is we who are killing and destroying in a country many miles from home.

Once the majority of the American people realize that it is not in their interest to fight a war in Vietnam, that it is actually contrary to their interests, then the war will end, because there will be no one to pay for it, either in terms of money, or materials, or time, or work, or lives.

Everyone who realizes that this war is not in his interest, or in the interests of the majority of the American people, has an obligation to work towards an end to this unjust, illegal and immoral war, not just on the basis of the Nuremberg Trial decision about individual responsibility, but on the basis of humanity. How much longer are we going to let President Johnson and his cohorts kill and maim and destroy Americans and Vietnamese in our name? We must all get together—students, poor people, working people—all those who see that this war only serves the powerful few; and we must tell Johnson to end the war in Vietnam NOW!

## **SUPPORT THE STRIKE**

The facts of the Delano strike are not being told in the daily newspapers or on radio and TV. AWOC and FWA, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, have called for a nationwide boycott of products from Delano: Schenley Liquors and Delano grapes. California farm workers are seeking the rights that most American workers have already won, and take for granted: UNION RECOGNITION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. Delano grape growers can avoid their economic and moral responsibilities as long as it is profitable for them to do so.

**YOU CAN MAKE INJUSTICE UNPROFITABLE! DON'T BUY SCAB PRODUCTS!**

SEND YOUR SUPPORT TO THE  
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Farm Workers Relief Fund  
Box 894  
Delano, California

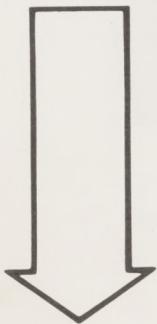


PHOTO BY HOWARD HARAWITZ

"SONS OF THE STRIKERS — FREE MEN OF THE FUTURE." This slogan appeared on one of the picket posters in Delano.

For a complete listing of boycotted brands of liquors and table grapes, send for the BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT, published by The Movement, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California. Also ask for back copies of The Movement, monthly newspaper of California Friends of SNCC. This paper has excellent coverage of the Delano strike and other news of interest to INSURGENT readers. Enclose 10c for each copy, \$1 for sub.

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